621 representative at court, we find clans that do have their repre-
614 sentatives at court. The Bahenyi represent such a Bahutu clan, and, in contrast to the Batutsi tribes, they have a headman. At the time of my visit it was Runiga.

Among the members of the clans, however, there are also high chiefs. Thus, Kakawandi is said to be a Muhenyi. He rules in the Nyawarongo Valley far into Mulera, but I do not know whether he rules in a part of the original clan territory.

The Barashi constitute another Bahutu clan represented at Musinga's court by its elder. We have discussed this clan in the previous chapter.

Bugoye is also in an intermediate position. Here we have areas of free farmers and others where the land has been granted to chiefs and is cultivated by biletwa. These lands are chiefly under the rule of Bushakwe, who is represented in the territory by Lwakadygi.

625 Police. The king supervises the entire country with the
202 help of a very strictly organized police force. Every important person, every European traveler, is scrupulously watched. Every minor detail is reported to the king. It is certainly not easy to understand how such accuracy can be achieved without the art of writing. Police duty is under the management of local chiefs, and they relay dispatches to the high chiefs residing at court. Actually, news is shouted from one hill-top to another. The chiefs report to the king and try to outdo each other in the accuracy and dispatch of their news service.

625 The population hates the police agents. I had an opportuni-
578 ty to observe this when the Mututsi, Lwakazina, wanted to join my column in Mulera for protection. The people had become so enraged at him because of his dangerous service that his life and goods were no longer safe.

[270] Count Von Götzen (1) mentions that Batwa policemen

1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West (Berlin, 1899), p. 161.

are said to wear special insignia, a forehead band with monkey hair.

● 659 There are no public services in Ruanda, with the exception of ferry service and police regulations, if we may use this term. Both of these, however, serve primarily to satisfy the needs

159 of the king and his favorites, upon whom state affairs and interests are centered.

151 Tax System. The interweaving of landed property is not the only means of paralyzing local, particularistic aims. The system of taxation accomplishes this too. The tax burden of the farmers is divided into several units which are usually collected by different chiefs. In this instance the chiefs are only intermediaries, but they retain part of the taxes.

The taxes of the farmers consist of food, hoes, beer, animals, and work in natura.

The tax to be paid to the king is determined by the king himself. Special conditions in individual communities sometimes exempt them from transporting their produce to the capital city. Thus, for example, Issawi Hill was exempt from food deliveries to the capital because Europeans were staying there.

The tax to be paid to the chief is determined by the chief himself, but he may not overburden his people; otherwise his work force may threaten to move away. Taxes in the form of food are collected during the harvest. There is considerable local variation in the amount of taxation in Ruanda. It varies also among individual high chiefs. Thus, in Marangara, for example, the people of Nshohozamigo work two days out of a five-day week in the fields of their chiefs. The people of Rudegambia and Kabare only perform services in the capital, for example, build huts and deliver food supplies. The fields of the subchiefs are cultivated by their clients who have become subject to compulsory labor through the granting of cows, as well as by wageworkers who are paid in milk and butter. In Issawi clients do not work in the fields of their patrons.

In Ruanda there are different categories of taxes, and the people are taxed very differently.

The greatest burden is buletwa, work that must be performed in natura on the fields of the chief, a primitive great landowner. The people work [271] two to three days out of a five- to six-day week on the land of the mutware. This work is the Muhutu's payment for the land on which he has settled and is not performed by the free farmers (ngabo) who have their own land which was cleared